

- 292 On festive days, or when going into town in the summer
301 months, women of all ages like to wear old-fashioned dress and ornaments. In addition to the blouse, *chamal*, belt, apron, and shawl, they put narrow bands of colored silk ribbon across the head from front to back. These strips of ribbon take the place of a kerchief and are held in position by a band of metal disks, known as a *trarüloñko*, that encircles the head above the ears (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). The hair is worn at the back in two long braids, between which a single bright ribbon may be tied to form a sort of *H*. Earrings are much in favor, and against the breast is worn a large pendant called a *trapelakucha*. Both the *trarüloñko* and the *trapelakucha* used to be fashioned of silver, and women who own such heirlooms wear them proudly. Recently, however, these ornaments have been made of baser metals such as nickel.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

- [17] In no regard is the transitional character of Araucanian culture more notable than in the field of native technology. Until
283 recent times the Mapuche practiced a wide range of arts and
286 crafts, but today the only activity of the sort that survives everywhere is the spinning of wool and weaving on hand looms.
[462] Nearly all women learn to spin and weave. In their spare time they make many things for home use and can always find a market in town for the surplus. From numerous references in the literature one gathers that Araucanian craftsmen formerly
28 manufactured many objects of stone and wood, and that many
32 of them were fine basketmakers, potters, and silversmiths.²² At
463 present, a specialist here and there continues one or another of the traditional crafts,²³ and the others purchase what they want

²² A large body of literature is devoted to Araucanian arts and crafts. Many references may be found in Cooper, 1946, pp. 713-19; and in Brand, 1941a, pp. 29-33. Good studies of stone and wood work, basketry, and pottery are available in Joseph, 1931a. For weaving, see Lothrop, 1930; Joseph, 1931b; and Oyarzún and Latcham, 1928. Silver work is described in Fontecilla, 1946. Guevara (1929, II: 247-85) provided a general treatment of native industries.

²³ At Cautinche, for example, even the custom of weaving has almost gone out of existence. A number of women still weave at Carrarrife and

PLATE IV

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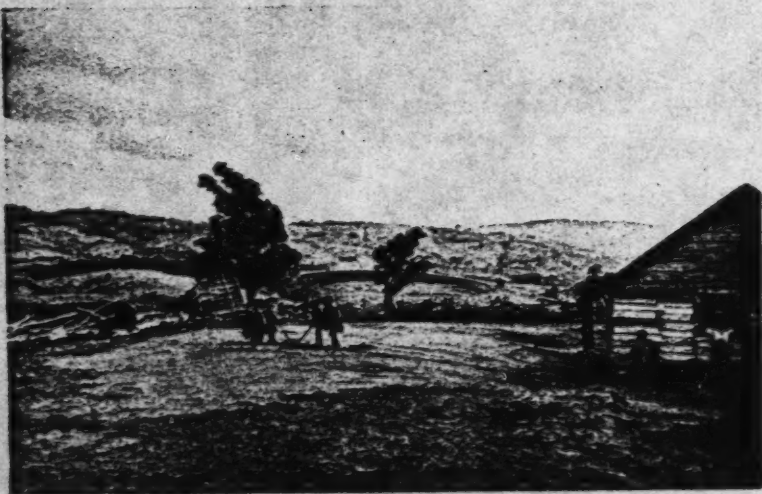


FIG. 1. Children playing *chueca* in the schoolyard at Cautinche. From the entrance of the caravan.

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FIG. 2. Women wearing traditional Araucanian costumes. The pompons worn by the younger women are commonly used on festive occasions.

[end plate 4]

PLATE XII

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FIG. 1. Start of the *ñillatun* at Coigue. The worshippers kneel and the *machi* stands ready with her *kul'truñ* poised. Coigue's cacique, the little man leaning forward in the front row, is about to asperge the gathering with a twig from a bowl of water.

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FIG. 2. Progress of the *ñillatun* at Coigue. The dancers are moving backward away from the altar. The *machi*, in a long white apron, stands in the middle of the front row.

[end plate 12]

PLATE XIII



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FIG. 1. Two ostrich dancers at Coigue. The distinctive aspects of the costumes are the shawls over their shoulders and the headbands of leaves.



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FIG. 2. Ramadas at Coigue. The women prepare food while the *Willatan* is in progress.

[end plate 13]

As Humboldt has so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most important event in the history of human society is perhaps the change from a nomadic to an agricultural life." This change among the Araucanos was not brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted gradually by the race on seeing the advantages accruing from the new mode of life, and at first only in a very desultory way. 177

The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants, other domestic animals, a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel the invader. [231] [241]

The introduction of spirituous liquors did not, for a considerable time, make much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so strained, and the stern, hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that the results of this traffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the declaration of the Republican Government, when there were longer lapses of peace, it became a lucrative business, and many large fortunes were made by distilling cheap "firewater" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this traffic attain that it is a common saying in the south that the distillers did in a few years what the Spaniards failed to accomplish in three centuries—reduced the tameless Araucano. This vice has taken such a hold of the Indian that in general it has completely changed his character and mode of life, and from being a fierce, untiring, vengeful patriot, he has become a drunken, cringing, soulless vagabond, who would sell land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge in his craving desire for drink. 648 273

Clothing.—Prior to the Incaic invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanos led a purely nomadic life as hunters, shifting their *toldos* from time to time as the exigencies of the chase demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of wild beasts, sometimes hung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed overwise between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they protected themselves from the cold and rain by long blankets of furs coarsely sewn together, or by guanaco skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the present day. In those earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long and braided into two long plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide. Now, however, this fashion is left to the women, and the men wear a mane, cut off square a little above the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a bright-coloured worsted band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favourite colour. Formerly, in warfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the heads of wild beasts as helmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude sleeveless shirts of the softer skins, using eyeless needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or vegetable fibre. In some parts they also produced a coarse kind of fibre cloth, employing rushes, flaxen grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This was evidently an imported custom, and was probably learnt from the Calchaqui, who inhabited the eastern slopes of the Andes north of the 32nd degree. There 291 [281] 302 292 • [286] [177]

- 262 repeated almost word for word by Rosales (1877-78, 1:223, 468)—and which they stored in a manner to last 4 or 5 years. Whether they practiced any agriculture in Mariño de Lovera's time is uncertain from his account, while Rosales' two statements are not easily harmonized: "no cuidan de sembrar" (1:468), and "cogen sus trigos y zebadas [European? or the native Araucanian "cebada"?] con abundancia los Pegüenches, aunque son poco labradores y con muy poco que siembran se contentan" (1:192). Pietas (1846, pp. 499, 500) seems to imply that horticulture was absent. For the rest, climatic conditions in the upper Andes were not favorable to gardening.
- 411 The weapons used were the bow and arrow, and the bolas (Pietas, 1846, p. 499).

342 Dwellings were of hides of horses and cattle.

- 292 Rosales (1877-78, 1:198) alone records the use of a type of snowshoes made of "coleos" (*Chusquea* sp. probably) to prevent sinking in the deep snow, but gives no details on construction—the only occurrence of snowshoes reported for South America, to the writer's knowledge, except the *Ona* one.

222 Each *Pehuenche*, according to Rosales (1877-78, 1:197; see also Pietas, 1846, p. 500), had exclusive and hereditary rights to gather pifions in a given district—held, added Pietas, just as the Spaniards hold their own vineyards.

- 421 In the middle of the 18th century, the culture of the "*Pehuenche*" between lat. 34° and 37° S. was fundamentally like *Mapuche-Huilliche*, as is clear from Molina; still earlier in the same century, Pietas stated (1846, p. 499) that the "*Pehuenche*" farther south had "los mismos ritos y costumbres" as the *Huilliche*; for all we know, even in the 16th and 17th centuries, the culture of the *Pegüenche* of Rosales and of the pifion-eating mountaineers of Mariño de Lovera, apart from the few reported minor differences we have listed and, presumably, other nonreported ones, may have been fundamentally in conformity with the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. At any rate, we have no tangible evidence of fundamental difference of pattern.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

For bibliographic references on the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, see page 699; on the *Picunche*, page 755; on the Argentine *Araucanians*, pages 755-756; and on the *Pehuenche*, page 759.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
 SC4 Araucanians SC4
 Chile

VOL. 333, PL. 27



Panguipulli women in fiesta attire: 1, 2, Two views of Domingo Huemul's wife, and 3, 4, his daughter.

[p. 92 (g)]

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101 Nüger E.-S. (1946-1952) 1957

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[p. 220 (b)]

Women's clothing (Alepia nova): 1-3. Woman dressed for festa. 4. A woman in her everyday dress.

II: Faron E-5 (1952-1954) 1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

INTERPRETATIVE SUMMARY

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dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Ma-
puche society? Are not such predictions similar to those which, on
whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies
from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will
disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this?

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several gen-
erations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional
Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those
rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it should be; that
is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian.
Ritual has to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacri-
ficial offerings should be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and
liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional
altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type
houses alongside their ruka, family life goes on within the ruka and
the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space,
serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domi-
cile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chemel*
and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume
which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation.
Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *arpum* (a woolen
homespun wrap-around), the *esku* (today a store-bought shawl), and
various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who
rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because
it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in com-
plete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonies and fiestas, or
when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which
are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are sym-
bolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing
chapters.

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agri-
cultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche
and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose
social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes
in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet infrastruc-
tural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than
culminations.

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Arauca-
nians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few genera-
tions, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages will